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Polit. Pamph. vol 103.

A FINAL

ANSWER

TO THE

REMARKS on the CRAFTSMAN'S
VINDICATION;

And to ALL the

LIBELS,

Which have come, or may come from the same
Quarter against the PERSON, last mentioned
in the CRAFTSMAN of the 22d of May.

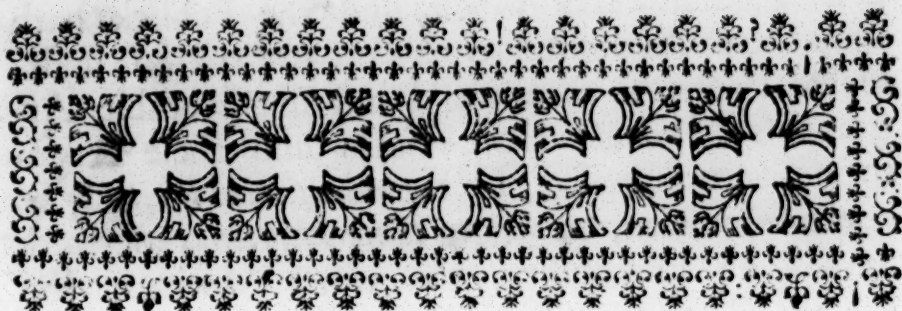
(Bolingbroke)



L O N D O N:

Printed for R. FRANKLIN, in *Russel-street*,
Covent-Garden. 1731. Price 6 d.





A F I N A L
A N S W E R
T O T H E
R E M A R K S on the C R A F T S M A N ' s
V I N D I C A T I O N , &c.



T is impossible to have read the Papers, which have been publish'd against the Writings of the *Craftsman*, and not have observed that one principal Point hath been labour'd with constant Application, and sometimes with a little Art. The Point I mean hath been This; to make all the Disputes about national Affairs, and our most important Interests, to pass for nothing more than *Cavils*, which have been rais'd by the Pique and Resentment of *one Man*, and by the Iniquity and dangerous Designs of *another*. Nothing, which could be said or done to inculcate this Belief, hath

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been

been neglected. The same Charges have been repeated almost every Week, and the Publick hath been modestly desired to pay no Regard to undeniable Facts, to unanswer'd and unanswerable Arguments, because these Facts and these Arguments were supposed, by the *ministerial Writers*, to come from Men, to whom *these Hirelings* ascribed, against all Probability, the worst Motives, and whose Characters They endeavour'd to blacken without Proof. Surely this Proceeding render'd it necessary, at least not improper, at the Conclusion of those Remarks, which were to conclude the Collection of the *Craftsman*, to say something concerning the *Persons*, who had been so particularly attack'd on Account of the Part, which They, who rail'd at them, were pleas'd to suppose that *these Gentlemen* had in the Writings, contain'd in that Collection. This, I say, was necessary; at least proper; not in order to *raise a Spirit*, as it is impertinently suggested in the *Libel*, which lies before me; but to refute *Calumny*, and to remove at least some of those Prejudices, which had been rais'd, or renew'd, on the Occasion of *these Writings*, and which were employ'd to weaken the Effect of them; an Effect, which may be said with Truth to have been aim'd at the * *noble Pair of Brothers*; since it keeps up a national Spirit of Enquiry and Watchfulness, which it is the Interest of *these Persons*, as it hath been their Endeavour, to stifle; and which it is the Interest of every *other Man* in *Britain* to preserve in Himself, and to nourish in others; an Effect, which cannot

* *Par nobile Fratrum*. See the Motto prefix'd to the *Remarks*.

cannot be said, without the greatest Untruth, to have been aim'd against the *present Settlement* ; since the highest Insolence, which can be offer'd to his Majesty, is to attempt to blend his Interest and his Cause with Those of his *unworthy Servants*, as the Tools of these *unworthy Servants* are every Day employ'd to do, and probably at his Majesty's Expence.

Something was said therefore by the *Craftsman*, in his Journal of the 22d of *May*, to the Purpose I have mention'd. If he went out of his Way, (for he ought most certainly to confine himself to *Things*, and meddle with *Persons* as little as possible) he went out of it on great Provocation. He carry'd Truth and Reason along with him ; and he used a Moderation and a Decency, to which his *Adversaries* are Strangers.

To set this Matter in a full Light, let us consider what he said ; let us consider how he hath been answer'd ; and, by fairly comparing both, let us put the whole Merits of this Cause upon one short but decisive Issue. It will be Time afterwards to make a few Observations on the Clamour rais'd ; on the Reasons and Designs of it ; in a Word, to detect the mean Artifice and silly Expedients, to which the *two honourable Patrons of the Remarker* are reduced. In doing This, I shall neither affect to declaim, nor to inveigh, though I have before me an inexhaustible Fund of Matter for both, and the Law of Retaliation to bear me out. As I am persuaded the *Men*, I have to do with, can raise no Passion in the *Person* concern'd, so have I no Need of endeavouring to raise the Passions of others.—But to proceed.

The

The *Craftsman* took Notice of those Accusations, which are brought against the *Gentleman* he mentions in the *second Place*——I meddle not with the Defence of the *other*, which hath been undertaken by an abler Pen.——Some of These he answer'd in general only ; and yet he answered them as particularly as he ought to have done for Reasons of *Honour*, which are touch'd upon by him, and which shall be a little more open'd by me.

But there were other Points, not at all affected by these Reasons, on which no Explanation was necessary to be given by the *Accused*, and on which the *Craftsman* had a Right to demand Proofs from the *Accusers*. They were Points of a more determined Nature ; such as admitted of no different Constructions ; such as could not be altered by Circumstances. They were of a more publick Nature ; such as the Men, who brought the Accusations, must have it in their Power to prove, if They were true ; and such therefore as must be false, if the Men, who brought the Accusations, were not able and ready to prove them.

On These the *Craftsman* insisted. He affirmed Propositions directly contrary to the Accusations brought. He appealed to unquestionable Authority for the Truth of what he affirm'd ; and to *one* in particular, which should have been treated with more Respect by the *Remarker*, since it will outweigh, at home and abroad, a thousand such Authorities as Those of *his Patrons*. He challenged all Mankind to *produce one single Proof, in Contradiction of any one of these general Affirmations*.

Was there any Thing *unfair*, or indecent in this Proceeding? Was there any Thing in it, which could provoke the Choler of Those, who are
Friends

Friends to Truth and Justice? If They, who brought these Accusations, had been such, an Opportunity was presented to Them of convicting the guilty Man at the very Tribunal, before which his Cause had been pleaded. By producing Proof on these Heads, They had it in their Power to condemn Him upon all the Rest; and if *this Part* of the Charge was made good, the Opinion of Mankind would have been fairly enough decided as to the *other*.

Issue being join'd therefore in this Manner, the *accused Person* must be found guilty of all the Crimes laid to his Charge; or his *Accusers* must be found guilty of Slander, of Calumny, and of the worst Sort of Assassination.

Thus the *Craftsman* left the Matter—Let us see what hath been said in Answer to Him.

I pass over the many scurrilous Productions of those *weekly, ministerial Scolds*, who are hired to call Names, and are capable of little more. The elaborate Libel, intitled *Remarks on the Craftsman's Vindication*, seems to be the utmost Effort of *their* and *their Patron's* collected Strength; and tho' I have waited several Days to see if They had any more Scandal to throw out; yet I never doubted an Instant from what Quarter this remarkable Piece came into the World.

The whole Pamphlet is one continued Invective, and deserves no more to be called *Remarks on the Craftsman*, or an *Answer to Him*, than the Railing and Raving and throwing of Filth by a *Madman* deserve to be call'd an *Answer* to Those, who unwarily pass too near his Cell. All, that *Malice* could ever invent, or the Credulity of *Parties*, inflamed by Opposition, receive, is assembled. Truth is disguised by Misrepresentation, and even many Things, which the *noble Pair* know to be false, are affirmed as true.

But

But you will ask, perhaps, whether the Challenge is not accepted, and whether Proofs are not brought to contradict the plain and positive Affirmations made by the *Craftsman*? I answer, the Challenge is accepted, and the *Remarker* assures us that He hath brought Proof in *numerous Instances* against these Affirmations; which is the more generous, because the *Craftsman* exacted but *one single Proof in Contradiction of any one of them*.

The *first* of these Affirmations was, that the *Gentleman* concern'd never entered into *Engagements*, or any *Commerce with the Pretender*, till He had been attainted and cut off from the *Body of his Majesty's Subjects*—Let us examine the Facts, which We find scatter'd up and down in the *Remarks*, and which may be apply'd to prove, in Opposition to this Affirmation, what hath been so often asserted, that *this Gentleman was a zealous Jacobite and an Agent of the Pretender*, even in the Reign of the late *Queen*.

The *first Fact* of this Kind is This. He left the *Kingdom*. His *high Treason*, among other Crimes, was confess'd by his *shameful Flight*.

Had the *Libeller* proved this *high Treason*, I might agree that the *Gentleman's leaving his Country* was a Consequence; but I can never admit that it is a Proof of his *Guilt*. Could no other Reason for leaving his Country be given, except his *Guilt*, his *leaving his Country* would be a strong Presumption against him. But many other Reasons will soon occur to Those, who remember the Passages of that Time; and Reasons there are of a more private Nature still, which would be very far, to say no more, from reflecting Dishonour on a Step, which is called, by these *foul-mouthed Advocates of Power*, *shameful* and *ignominious*. One Thing it may be proper to assure them of, that they

they may pretend to mistake the *Craftsman*, and to misapply his Words no more. It is This. The *Gentleman* never declined a Contest with the *two honourable Patrons of this Libel*. One of them was, in those Days, below his Notice; and he never found, upon Trial, that he had Reason to apprehend being foiled by the *other*. But we must not yet dismiss this Article.

If the Proof we are examining proved any thing, it would prove too much. If to decline, in certain Circumstances, a Trial; if to go into voluntary Exile, either before a Trial, or even after Condemnation, were absolute Proofs of Guilt, the Conduct of many greater and better Men than the *Person now accused* would deserve our Censure, and That of Calumniators, as vile as *these Libellers*, would merit our Approbation. *Metellus* and *Rutilius* must be condemned. *Apuleius* and *Apicius* must be justified.

This sort of Proof therefore not appearing sufficient to make good the Charge, that *this Gentleman* was engaged with the *Pretender* before his *Attainder*, great Pains are taken, and much Rhetorick is employ'd to shew, what we shall not presume to contradict, that he ought not to have engaged in that Cause after his *Attainder*. Neither did the *Craftsman* insist on this Circumstance as a Defence of the *Person accused*. He fixed this Date of the Engagements mentioned, in Contradiction to *Those*, who had falsely affirmed that these Engagements were much more ancient. But He neither urged it as a *Defence*, nor pleaded it as an *Excuse*; and yet I am persuaded that this very Circumstance had some Weight with his *late Majesty*, when that excellent Prince, the Mildness of whose Temper, and the Clemency of whose Nature,

would have render'd him amiable in the most private Station, and made him almost adorable in that great Elevation, to which the Providence of God had rais'd him ; when that excellent Prince, I say, was pleas'd on his own Motion, and without any Application from the *Person* here spoken of, to extend his present, and promise his future Favour to him.

Tho' the *Craftsman* did neither say, nor intend, what has been objected by the *Remarker* to him, yet he might perhaps mean something more than hath been observed ; and if he did mean it, he meant to inculcate, upon this Occasion, a very useful, general Truth. Let us grant that the Man, who engages against his Country, even when He has been oppress'd in it, or driven out of it by Violence, is not to be defended ; that these are Occasions, wherein we ought to kiss the Rod, which scourges us, and reverence that Authority, which we think has been unjustly exercised against us. But then let it be granted likewise, that *human Passions* are so strong, and *human Reason* so weak, that Men, who suffer Persecution or who imagine they suffer it, are seldom able to keep within these Bounds of *heroical Moderation*. They will be apt to seize the Opportunities, which may be offer'd, of resisting, or of attempting to repair the Injuries done them. They will flatter Themselves, that they do not *vow their Revenge against the People, the innocent and collective Body of their Countrymen*, nor go about to subvert the *Constitution of the Government*. They will persuade others, nay they will persuade themselves, that they do not seek *Revenge*, but *Redress* ; nor aim to destroy the *Law*, which punishes, but to prevent the *Abuse* of it, which persecutes. Thus will

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will Men, who actually suffer, be apt to reason ; and if the Case be common to Numbers, they will be apt to proceed from reasoning on such Principles, to act upon them. Wise Governments therefore have been careful to distinguish between *Punishment* and *Persecution*, and have never suffer'd the *former*, however just, necessary, or severe, to carry the least Appearance of the *latter*. *Ludlow* was justly punished. My *Lord Clarendon*, whom the *Remarker* hath so strangely yoked with the *Regicide*, was unjustly, ungratefully and cruelly persecuted. We may pronounce, without Uncharitableness, that the *former* would have taken any Opportunity of subverting a second Time the Constitution of his Country ; not from *Resentment* alone, but from *Principle*. The *latter* would have been moved by no Resentments to disturb that Frame of Government, which He had contributed so much to restore. The *former Example* therefore hath nothing to do in this Place ; and if I admit the *latter*, it will only serve to shew us how Men *should act*, not how they *do act*. It will be one Example of *Virtue*, opposed to innumerable Instances of *Frailty*. Innumerable, indeed, are the Instances of Men in all Ages, who having been driven out of their Country by Violence, have endeavour'd, ev'n by Violence, to return to it. This is the general and known Course of Nature ; *depraved* indeed, but *human* ; and since it is so ; if we allow that *They*, who disturb a Government, because they think themselves persecuted, deserve no Excuse, we must allow that *Those*, who give Occasion to this Disturbance by Persecution, deserve very little.

I hope I may deserve some for this Digression, into which the *Remarker* led me ; and I return to my Subject, by saying that neither the *Craftsman* hath pretended, nor do I here pretend, to excuse the Engagements, which *this Gentleman* took, after his *Attainder*, and which his *late Majesty* so graciously pardoned ; but that his taking these Engagements, *after his Attainder*, is no Proof that he was under them *before* ; and that his going out of the Kingdom, in the late King's Reign, is no Proof that He was a *zealous Jacobite, and an Agent of the Pretender* in the late Queen's Reign.

The *Libeller*, finding himself unable to make this Charge good, lessens the Charge that He may suit his Proof to it. If He cannot prove that the *Gentleman* was in the Interests of the *Pretender*, before his *Attainder*, He will prove at least that He had a *strong Propension to those Interests* ; and how does He prove even This? He asserts that *in the Year 1702. this Gentleman was one of the virtuous 117, who gave their Votes to throw out the Bill for settling the protestant Succession, &c.* False and impudent Assertion! A few Pages before He pretends to have the *Journal Book of the House of Commons* before Him. Had He it before him now? If He had, how could He affirm, in direct Contradiction to it? If He had not, how could He venture to affirm any thing, concerning this Matter? The *Bill for settling the protestant Succession, in the present Royal Family, pass'd the House of Commons* in the Month of *May 1701*, not in 1702 ; and it pass'd *nemine contradicente*. In the Month of *January* following, Leave was given, *nemine contradicente*, to bring in a *Bill for the farther Security of his Majesty's Person and the Succession of the Crown in the protestant Line, and extinguishing*

stinguishing the Hopes of the pretended Prince of Wales, and all other Pretenders, and their open and secret Abettors. This Bill was accordingly brought in, and the Persons who, by Order of the House, prepared and brought it in, were Sir Charles Hedges and one Mr. St. JOHN. In the Progress of *this Bill* through the House, it appears that there were some Debates and Divisions about *particular Clauses and Amendments*; but the *Bill* was pass'd without any *Division*; so infamously false is the Assertion made by *this Libeller*, that there was no Division of 117, or of any other Number, for throwing out either *the Bill, which settled the Succession*; or *the Bill, which was made for the farther Security of it*. There was a Division indeed, of 117 against 118, upon a Clause added by the Lords to a *Bill, for enlarging the Time for taking the Oath of Abjuration, &c.* and This happened in the year 1702; but what Relation hath *this Fact* to the Fact asserted? Whether the Gentleman voted against *this Clause*, or not, I am unable to say; and it is to no purpose to enquire; for the Clause regarded only *such Persons as had neglected to take the Abjuration Oath in Time, and provided that if such Persons had forfeited any Office, Benefice, &c. to which any other Person had been preferr'd, the former should not be restored by taking the Advantage of this Act*. If this pretended Proof therefore is not another Instance of the vilest Calumniation, I know not what is; and if This is vile Calumniation, the *Libeller* himself confesses that *the Craftsman's Challenge was properly made*; and that *there is not one Proof in the World against his general Affirmations*.

Another

Another Fact, which is advanced and most pathetically declaimed upon, for Reasons not hard to be discover'd, is likewise applied to maintain the same Charge. *This Gentleman*, says the *Libeller*, *had the Impudence to oppose his present most sacred Majesty, when He demanded a Writ of Right—The Writ of Summons to Parliament. He afterwards caused the Elector of Hanover's Minister to be forbid the Court, for no other Crime than having demanded that Writ. And did this Gentleman oppose this Writ? Nay, did any other Servant of the late Queen oppose it? False and Impudent is the Assertion. It was ordered to be made out the very Day * it was demanded. If the Minister, who demanded the Writ, was forbid the Court, was this Gentleman the cause of it? Is every disagreeable Circumstance to be ascribed to him in an Affair, which was too important not to be laid, by the proper Minister, that is by the Chancellor, not the Secretary, before her late Majesty and her Council; and in which it may be suppos'd that her Majesty's Resentments were alone sufficient to determine such a Resolution? Besides, if the Minister received the Affront mentioned, was it singly and abstractedly for demanding the Writ; or was it founded on the manner of demanding, and on many other Circumstances, some expressed and some hinted at in the Letters, writ soon afterwards by the late Queen to her late Electoral Highness the Princess Sophia, and to his present Majesty, which lye before me in the printed *Annals of Queen Anne's Reign*? Was the Reception, given by his late Majesty, then Elector,*

* Vide *Annals of the Reign of Queen Anne*.

to the *Minister*, who made this Demand, at his Return home, such a one as shewed his Majesty's Approbation of this Measure, and his Disapprobation of what had happen'd here upon it? — I say no more.

We have now gone thro' all I can find in *this Libel*, which seems so much as to aim at making good the *first Head of Accusation*, on which the *Craftsman* made his Challenge.

On the *second Head*, the *Craftsman* affirmed that the same Gentleman never had any Commerce either direct or indirect, inconsistent with the Engagements He took after his Attainder, whilst He continued in them. Now, this Affirmation, instead of being disproved, is evaded. *It is foreign to me*, says the *Remarker*—Is it so? — Have not all his scribbling Associates charged this Gentleman over and over for being treacherous to the Pretender; for being engag'd with Him; and at the same time a *Spy* and a *Partisan*, such is the Language they use, of the late King? Is not the flat Contradiction given to this Lye a Part of the Challenge made by the *Craftsman*? Hath not *this Libeller* accepted the Challenge? Hath He not called it a *weak*, a *foolish* and a *slavish Defence*? May He evade it after all his boasting? Is He not bound to make it good in every Part, or to own the Charge of Calumny, which I make on Him, on the whole scribbling Crew, and on *Those*, who pay them? What He, or They will own, I neither know nor care. What the Publick will determine is evident.

On a *third Head of Accusation* against this Gentleman,

tleman, the *Craftsman* affirm'd, that since he was out of the *Engagements* last mentioned, *He hath had no Commerce, either direct or indirect, in favour of that Cause.* Now, upon *this Head*, tho' the Accusation be not given up in Terms, yet is it as little maintain'd, or supported by Proof as the *last*. The *Libeller*, indeed, calls the *Gentleman* a *Leviathan of Treason*; displays the terrible Dangers, which would have attended the reinstating him; presumes to call it a *Libel on the late King's Memory to say that He had such Intentions*; and yet dares not deny that his Majesty signified his having *such Intentions*. In short, with much Bombast, He makes the Panegyrick of his *Patron*, for *defeating these Intentions*. I shall not condescend to make one single Remark on this Rhapsody of Scurrility and Adulation. Such Poyson carries its Antidote along with it into the World; and no Man will be at a Loss to judge whether *publick*, or *private Motives* determin'd the *Servant*, in this Case, to defeat the Intentions of the *Master*. Which ever they were, He, who can believe that the *Gentleman* so often mention'd has upon him any of that *Obligation*, which the *Craftsman* disclaims for him, deserves to be pitied; and He, who can bring himself up to affirm it, deserves to be despised. But before I leave *this Article*, it may not be improper, nor unreasonable to enquire, by what Criterion good *Subjects to his Majesty* and *faithful Friends to the present Establishment* are to be distinguished and known. Are all Those to be reputed such, who assumed the greatest Zeal for the *protestant Succession* formerly? -- This cannot be; for many of the *Tories* have this *Title*; and all, who ever wore that Name, are proscribed by the *System* we have advanced.— Are all These to
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be reputed such, who were alike zealous for the *Protestant Succession*, and who have besides made constant Profession of the Principles of *Whiggism*? — This cannot be neither; since many such as These are daily stigmatized with the reproachful Names of *Malecontents* and *Incendiaries*; and since Endeavours are used, by false Deductions and by arbitrary Interpretations, to prove them *Enemies to the Government*, and in Effect *arrant Traitors*. — What is *this Criterion* then? I am able to discover but one, and it is This; being for, or being against the *noble Pair of Brothers*, the *two honourable Patrons of the Remarker*. Without the Merit of approving *their Conduct*, no Man is to be reputed a *faithful Subject*, or a *Friend to his Country*. With this Merit, and with That of a blind Submission, even *They*, who have been the *most obnoxious*, may be received; and *They*, who have been called *Enemies to the Government*, as loudly as any others, may be inrolled among its *Friends*. This Practice of endeavouring to confine the Interest of the Government to as narrow a Bottom as That of *two Ministers*, has been of late most audaciously pursued. It has been said in direct Terms * that if *his late Majesty had put the Administration into any other Hands*, He would have been unjust to those brave Men, who had done and suffer'd so much to serve him; and that He would not have deserved to wear the Crown, if He had not employ'd the Men, whom He did employ. — Here, again, there might be room for some particular Reflections, if I was disposed to make them. But I avoid this

* *Lond. Journ. May 15.*

invidious Part as much as my Subject will allow me to do ; and shall therefore content my self with desiring these *bold Writers*, their *Inspectors*, and *Patrons*, to consider what the necessary Consequences of such Positions are. If they dare to assert that his *late Majesty would have been unjust ; that He would not have deserved to wear the Crown, if He had not employed the Men He did employ ;* what might they not assert if his *present Majesty* should, at any Time, think fit, in his great Wisdom and Goodness to his People, to remove some of *those very Men*, whom his Royal Father did employ ? The Assertion is not even extended to *Party*. It would have been still indecent if it had. But it is confined to a certain Number of *particular Men* ; as if the Zeal for the *Protestant Succession in the present Royal Family* had not been directed, as it most certainly was, to the *national Advantage*, but had been intended, as to be sure it was not, for the Advantage of *particular Men*, and to perpetuate the Administration in a *private Family*. This is such Language, as I believe was never held before, and as no Man would presume to hold now, if the Encouragement to it did not proceed from *Those*, by whom it should be discountenanc'd and punished.

There is *another Fact*, which I must not omit to take Notice of in this Place ; because though it is not one of *Those*, on which the *Craftsman* made his Challenge, yet it hath been positively asserted by Him, and half of it at least as positively deny'd by the *Remarker*.

The *Craftsman* said that the *Mercy of the late King was extended to the Gentleman*, we speak of, *unask'd and unearn'd*. That it was *unearn'd*, the *Remarker* thinks probable ; and in thinking so He
gives

gives the Lye to all his *Fellow-Scribblers*, who have so often affirmed the contrary. That it was *unask'd*, He says, is a downright Falshood. He hath the *Journal-Book of the House of Commons* before Him; and there He finds that the House was acquainted, by his late Majesty's Command, in April 1725, that this Gentleman had, about seven Years before, made his humble Application and Submission, &c. which his Majesty so far accepted as to give Encouragement to hope for some future Mark of his Majesty's Favour and Goodness.—In This He exults; but here again the *Effrontery* and *Falshood*, which He charges on others, will recoil on Himself. Who drew this *ministerial Message* I know not; nor how far the Style of it may be necessary, according to the Forms usual on such Occasions; but the *Remarker* might have known, if He had consulted even his *Patrons*, that his Majesty's Mercy had been extended to *this Gentleman* two Years before the *seven* there mentioned; and that this Mercy did not consist in *Encouragement to hope for some future Mark of his Majesty's Favour and Goodness*, but in a gracious and absolute Promise of his Favour in the full Extent, which the Circumstances of that Gentleman required. I may be the more bold in affirming this Fact, because the noble Lord, who delivered the Message I quote, is still alive, as some other Persons are, to whom his late Majesty was pleas'd to own that *this Message* had been deliver'd by his Order, and to express his gracious Intentions conformably to it—But to proceed.

It appears most undeniably that of the *three Heads*, on which the *Craftsman* gave, and the *Remarker* accepted, the Challenge, the *Remarker* hath shewn Himself unable to prove the *first* by any true Facts, and hath scandalously attempted to do it by

false ones; that He hath given up the *second*; and that He hath not so much as attempted to prove the *third*.

Let me ask now, shall Men, thus plainly convicted of Calumny on Accusations brought so often and charg'd so peremptorily by them, expect Belief, when They endeavour to defame in any other Case? Shall They, who are convicted of accusing falsely in Cases, which are plain in their Nature, where no Proof can be wanting, and where no Pretence can be alledg'd for not producing it, expect that the Publick should condemn any Man, and especially a Man, who is under so many Circumstances of Disadvantage, peculiar to his singular and unexampled Situation, because They affirm Him guilty in Cases, which are intricate in their Nature, and where Reasons of Honour, of Prudence and of Decency may all concur to impose Silence? How often have the *noble Pair* defended Themselves, and been defended by others, on this Principle; that no Man ought to charge another, unless He is able and ready to prove the Charge? How often have They call'd for Proof on this Principle, and triumph'd that it was not immediately brought? Now, although this Defence may not be sufficient in every Case, where Matters of *present Transaction* are concerned, and where the *Persons attacked* are in actual Possession of the greatest Power; yet surely it may be thought, with Reason, to be a sufficient Defence, when Matters *long ago transacted*, and long ago *censured* too, are concerned; when the *Persons*, who *attack*, are in actual Possession of the greatest Power; and the *Person*, who is *attack'd*, hath none of those offensive, or defensive Weapons at his Command, which Power furnishes in so abundant a Manner.

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The *Remarker* thinks that no *Reasons of Honour, Prudence, or Decency* ought to shut the Mouth of *Innocence*; that *Shame and Guilt* alone are silent in the *Day of Enquiry*—When this *Day of Enquiry* is to come, and *who* is to be the Subject of it, I know not; but let Him learn that there are many Cases, wherein it is not *honest*, and many others may occur wherein it is not *prudent*, to say all that might be said either in Defence, or in Excuse; that is, when the Defence or Excuse of *our selves* must affect *others*, not concern'd in the Debate. In such Cases, the most innocent will rather bear the Imputation of imaginary Crimes, by keeping Silence, than be guilty of a real Crime, by breaking it; and to carry This as far as it can be carryed, Instances might be produc'd of Men, who have dyed, rather than accuse others, whose Blood was thirsted after more than *Theirs*.

Much hath been said, and great Complaints have been made, of the *Torture*, as it is called in *this Libel*, given to *another Gentleman's Actions*. If, by This, be meant ransacking into all the private and publick Passages of his Life, and wresting every one into a Crime; far be it from me to approve, in *his Case*, what I abhor *this Libeller* for doing in the Case of *another*. But is it really so? Have we seen Accusations of *Treachery* and *Ingratitude* towards several, who are dead, and towards any, who are living insisted upon, in the former Case? Has it been reproached to the *Patrons of the Remarker*, that they worm'd out of Power a *Person*, to whom They were nearly allied and ought to have been firmly attach'd by Gratitude and Friendship? and yet is That a Subject, which affords nothing to be said? Are there no Circumstances, which might be aggravated at least? Are there no strong Colours, which might be laid?

Even

Even I should not be at a Loss to do it, if I thought it fair to do it; if I thought it honest to push any Man to a Silence, of which I might take a seeming Advantage, or to a Necessity of justifying or excusing himself by saying what, supposing him innocent, he ought not to say. Are there no Facts relating to *former Transactions* of great Importance not commonly known, and yet not absolutely Secrets, which remain still unmention'd? — In short, is it not apparent that there are Men, who accuse, indeed, *when the immediate Subject of Debate leads, or provokes them necessarily and unwillingly to it*, whilst there are others, who wait for no such Necessity, but accuse meerly to *defame*.

It would be tedious, not difficult, to go thro' this whole *Invective*; to deny with Truth many Things, which are falsely affirmed; and, by giving a just Turn to others, to set them in a very different Light from That, wherein the *Author* exposes them to publick View; to explain what He perplexes; to distinguish what He confounds. But I shall not take this Task upon Me, for the Reasons I have given and for others, which I am going to give.

As to the Conduct, which the *Person*, against whom such Torrents of Ribaldry are pour'd forth, held towards *Those*, who were at the Head of Affairs, whilst He was in Business, I shall only add to what hath been said already, what no Man of Candour will deny; that the Heat and Animosity, which *perpetual Contests and frequent Turns of Party* raise, have carried many (perhaps, the *Person*, who is blamed; perhaps, the *Persons*, who blame him) to do, what in any other Situation, or Temper of Mind, They would carefully avoid; in a Word, that the just Man hath been, on such

Occasions, sometimes unjust ; the good-natur'd Man ill-natur'd ; and the friendly Man unfriendly. Few there are, I fear, who could with a safe Conscience take up the first Stone upon such a Trial. Few there are, who are blameless. But here is the Difference. The just, the good-natur'd, the friendly Man returns to the Character, out of which He started. The unjust, the ill-natur'd, the unfriendly Man persists. The *first* reflects with Sorrow on what the *last* reflects with Triumph ; and whilst *one* wishes undone what the Heat of *Party* carried Him to do, the *other* is glad of the Excuse of *Party*, such as it is, to indulge the viciousness of his own Nature, and to repeat unjust, ill-natur'd and unfriendly Actions. to the *living* and even to the *dead*.

There is an Example before us, which may serve to illustrate what I have said.—Great Advantage is taken of a *Memorial* sent to the late Queen, by the late Earl of *Oxford*, wherein many hard Reflections are made on *others* ; but the hardest of all on the *Person* here referr'd to. He is painted in the worst Colours, and accused to the *Queen* of the greatest Faults. Should I descend into the Particulars, I might shew that the Accusations were groundless, and point out, perhaps, the unjust Causes of Suspicions, which were taken, as well as the Motives to the writing *that Memorial*, which I wish had never been written for a Reason very different from That, which the *Remarker* would be ready to assign. But I shall not descend into any such Particulars, nor give a double Advantage to the *Malicious*, who would be just as well pleas'd to have any Handle given them by the *living* of inveighing against the *dead*, as They are ready to seize, on every Occasion, That,
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which was given them, so many years ago, by *one*, who is now *dead*, of inveighing against the *living*.

The *Persons*, who had the Honour to serve the *late Queen*, in the last Period of her Life, have been these twenty Years the Subjects of great Clamour. If the Differences, which happen'd amongst them so long ago, gave in some Measure, as I apprehend that They did, both occasion and Force to this Clamour, it would be strange Conduct, indeed, in Those of them, who remain *alive*, and in the *Relations* and *Friends* of Those of them, who are *dead*, to preserve this Spirit of *Difference*, and to assist in reviving *this Clamour*.

The Day will come, when *authentick History* will relate the Passages of those Times, without Regard to the partial Views of any *Party*, or the particular Defence of *any Man*. 'Till this Day does come, every one must decide, or suspend his Judgment, as He sees Reason to do, and They, who may suffer by these Judgments, must bear it with that Temper and Respect, which is due from every private Man to publick Censures; nay, even to publick Prejudices.

But what hath all This to do with the Characters and Conduct of the *noble Pair*? Suppose the *Men in Power*, two Reigns ago, to have been *Angels of Darknes*; will it follow that the *two honourable Patrons of the Remarker* are *Angels of Light*? What then is the Meaning of so great a Clamour, affectedly raised on so slender an Occasion as the *Craftsman* of the 22d of *May* gave; wherein little was said, and that little with much Moderation, after much Provocation? Why are so many Pens employed, and so great Pains taken, to divert the Attention of the Publick from *present* to *past Transactions*; from *national Considerations* to *personal*

sonal Altercations? — The Reason is obvious; and no other Reason in Nature can be assigned. The *noble Pair* have been hard push'd, on their Management of *publick Affairs*, both at home and abroad. Not only their *Errors* have been pointed out; gross, palpable *Errors*; but a long Series of Error; a whole System of cool, deliberate, conducted, defended, expensive Error hath been laid open to publick View. What I believe never to have happened before, hath happened on these Occasions. The *noble Pair* have been admonish'd in Time, and shewn the Precipice, into which, whoever led, They were both falling. The Consequences of their Measures have been foretold as early as possible, and even whilst the Causes were laying. Surely this Conduct, on the Part of their *Adversaries*, favours more of *publick Spirit* than of *private Resentment*; and yet, when They have taken Advantage of it, when They have stopt short and triumph'd in their Escape, as They did in the Case of the *Irish Recruits*, these very Admonitions, which gave Them Time and Opportunity to do so, have been modestly attributed to *private Resentment* alone; though nothing can be more manifest than This; that *private Resentment* would have found its Account better in Silence; would have prefer'd *Accusations* to *Admonitions*, and would have waited longer to have struck more home.

Sometimes, instead of stopping short, They have gone on, answering for and being answered for, till the *Events* have justify'd the *Predictions*; till the Inconveniencies, Disadvantages and Difficulties, against which the *noble Pair* had been warn'd in vain, have followed and increased upon them; till even their *Apologists* have been forced to allow some Errors, and till They Themselves

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have confess'd their *boasted System* to be wrong, by *changing* it, and by boasting of the *Change*. Even after all This, They have complain'd of *Clamour*; and They still complain, as if there had never been the least Occasion for it given by Them. —How their *new Schemes* are plann'd, and how They will be pursued; whether these *able Men* have fail'd hitherto, because They set out on *mistaken Principles of Policy*, or whether They have failed for want of Skill to conduct the *rightest*, We shall soon see.

But These are not the only Circumstances, which have born, and still bear hard upon Them.—In the Course of These and other Disputes, it seems to have been plainly and fully proved that *such Principles* have been established, and *such Doctrines* have been taught by the *ministerial Writers*, as tend manifestly to destroy the *Freedom of the British Government*. Such are the *Dependency* (I mean the *corrupt Dependency*) of *Parliaments on the Crown*; the *Necessity of standing Armies*, notwithstanding the Danger of them to *Liberty*; and some *other Points*, which I need not recapitulate. It is sufficiently known how much, and with how much Reason, the far greater Part of Mankind have been alarmed at these Attempts; which, if They succeed, must hurt not only the inferior and temporary Interests, but the greatest and most permanent, political Interest, which a *Briton* can have at Heart; That of the *Constitution of this Government*.

As these Things have been objected strongly on *one Side*, so Endeavours have been used on the *other*, to disguise and to palliate them, or to evade the Consequences drawn from them. But these Endeavours have not succeeded. How, indeed, should

should they succeed? As well might *Those*, who make them, expect to persuade Mankind that *Slavery* and *Beggary* are preferable to *Liberty* and *Wealth*, as to make the World believe that these Blessings can be preserved to *Britain* by the very Means, by which they have been lost in so many other free Countries.

Since This therefore cannot be imposed; since the Minds of Men cannot be convinced of such Absurdities, they must be diverted, if possible, from the Subject. A new Cry is therefore raised, or an old one rather is revived. Disputes, which inflamed the Minds of Men, whilst the Affairs they relate to were transacting, and the Conflict of *Parties* was the most fierce, are renewed at a Time, when they can be of no Benefit to the Publick, and when the same Motives of *Party* subsist no longer. *One Man*, in particular, is made the Subject of new Invektive. Nothing, which Malice can suggest, and ill Nature and ill Manners utter, is omitted to render his *Person* odious, and to represent his *Designs* as dangerous. In the same Breath, we are told that this odious, this dangerous Man is endeavouring to come into Power once more. He stands again a *Candidate for Grace and Trust*. He would again administer the Publick, abandon its *Allies*, and sacrifice its Honour. Nothing will satisfy him but the Power, which He once abused and would again abuse; the *Trusts*, which He once betrayed and would again betray. These are represented, with equal Modesty and Fairness, to be his *Requests*; and the *Hero of the Remark*, that is the *Remarker's Paymaster*, who administers the Publick so righteously; who never abandon'd its *Allies*; neither the *Emperor* nor *France*; who never sacrificed its Honour to *one*, nor its Interest to

both; who never abused his Power, nor betrayed his Trust, through Ambition, through Pride, through private Interest, or private Pique; *this Person* is applauded for his Opposition to such Requests for his *just and fatal Discernment*.

What *Fatality* there may be in his *Discernment*, I know not; but surely there is a *Fatality*, which attends *Those*, who indulge themselves in speaking and writing, without any Regard to *Truth*. How could it happen else that the *Remarker* should so egregiously contradict himself, and destroy in his 40th Page the whole Drift of his 39? This *bold and rash Scribbler* takes upon him to marshal and to characterize insolently the *Friends of the Man* He rails at. If I was not of that Number myself, I should probably say more on the Subject. This however I am under an Obligation to say; that the *Friends of this Gentleman* must be such to his *Person*. They cannot be so to his *Power*. That He takes it as the greatest Compliment, which can be made him, to *have a Sympathy of Nature and a Conformity of Principles and Designs* with them, attributed to him; that He thinks their Friendship an Honour to him; such an Honour as the warmest of his Enemies have Cause to envy, and do envy; such an Honour as the highest of his Enemies would be heartily proud to obtain, and have not been able to obtain.

The *Friends* now of *this Gentleman*, whom he is sometimes said to *lead*, and who are sometimes said to *employ him as their Tool*, just as it suits the present Purpose of Scandal to say; these very *Friends*, it seems, the very Men who defend him, *would never raise him above his present low Condition, nor make him the Partner of their Success.*—However they may employ him, the *Remarker* and his *Patrons*

Patrons know how they *mean to reward him*.— Since This is the Case, since they know it to be so ; for what Reason, in the Name of Wonder, is all this Buffle made about so *insignificant a Tool*? —Why so many Endeavours to raise a Jealousy, and give an Alarm, as if *this Man* was aiming again at Power? — Why so much Merit ascribed to the *noble Pair*, for keeping him out of it? — His *own Friends* would not raise him to it — How ridiculous then is the Affectation of his *Enemies*, who value themselves on their Opposition to him?

Let the *noble Pair* stand or fall by their own Merits, or Demerits. I dare answer to them and to the World, upon better Foundations than Those of the *Remarker's* laying, that their Continuance in Power will never break the Spirit of *this Man*, nor their Fall from it excite his Ambition. His Ambition, whatever may have been said or thought about it, hath been long since dead. A Man must be dead himself, who is utterly insensible of all that happens, either to the *Publick* or to *Himself*; but He, who seeks nothing but *Retreat*, and that Stability of Situation, which is essential to the Quiet of it, hath surely no Ambition. Now that This is the Case, and hath been long the Case of the *Gentleman*, concerning whom I speak, I know to be true, and I affirm boldly. He never had the least, I say more, He never would have the greatest Obligations to any Country, except his own ; and yet so desirous was *this Man* of Rest and Quiet, that He was contented to enjoy them where Fortune had presented them to Him. A little Frankness might have kept him *abroad* all his Life, without Complaint. Much Art has been employed to confine him *at home*, and to teaze him there. If,
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forgetting all former Persecutions, He resented the *last*, would he be much to blame?

I am not conscious of having said, in this Paper, a Word against the Truth ; and I am sure that I have the same Truth on my Side, when I assert that *this Man*, whom the *Libeller* represents to be so *turbulent*, so *outrageous*, and of such pertinacious Ambition, however He might have been willing formerly to have had the Obligation to the *noble Pair* of enjoying, by their Assistance, the full Measure of his late Majesty's intended Goodness, would decline with Scorn, after all that has passed, to be reinstated in his former Situation, at the intolerable Expence of having the least Appearance of an Obligation to *Them*. Neither *They*, nor their *Advocates*, can be half so solicitous to keep him out of *Power*, and even out of a State of aspiring after *Power*, as he is determin'd against the *first*, and indifferent about the *last*.

I am sensible that all This may appear a little improbable to the *Persons* I oppose. It will be hard for *Them* to conceive that the Man, who has once tasted *Power*, can ever renounce it in earnest. No wonder *They* should think in this Manner. *Those*, who find nothing in Themselves to rest upon with Satisfaction, must lean on *Power*, on *Riches*, or *both*, and on other external Objects. Nay, *Those*, who have of the two Vices, *Ambition* and *Avarice*, the *meanest* in the most eminent Degree ; and who would be glad to quit their *Power*, and to retire with their *Gains*, may be afraid to quit it, because they have abused it. They may be so miserable as to see no Security out of *Power*, nor any other in it, except that precarious, that temporary Security, which is the last and usual Refuge of *desperate Men* ; the continuing

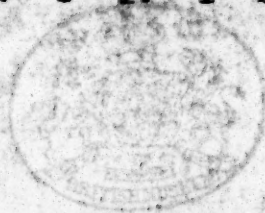
tinuing the same Violences to maintain, by which they acquired their *Power*; the keeping up of *Dissentions*, and the *embroiling of Affairs*; those noble Arts, by which they rose.

But there are Men in the World, who know that there is something in *Life* better than *Power*, and *Riches*; and such Men may prefer the *low Condition*, as it is called by the *Remarker*, of one *Man*, to the *high Condition* of another. There are Men, who see that *Dignity* may be disgraced, and who feel that *Disgrace* may be dignified. Of this Number is the *Gentleman*, whom I have undertaken to defend; who possesses his Soul without Hopes or Fears, and enjoys his *Retreat* without any Desires beyond it. In that *Retreat*, He is obedient to the *Laws*, dutiful to his *Prince*, and true to his *Oaths*. If He fails in these Respects, let him be publickly attacked; let publick Vengeance pursue and overtake him; let the *noble Pair* indulge for once their Passions in a *just Cause*. If they have no Complaints, of this Nature, to make against him, from whence does this particular Animosity proceed? Have they Complaints of any other Kind to make, and of a private Nature? If they have, why is the Publick troubled on this Account? — I hope the *Remarker's Mask* is now taken off; that the true Drift of all this *personal Railing* is enough exposed; and that the Attention of Mankind will be brought back to those more important Subjects, which have been already started, and to Those, which every Day may furnish.

After what has been here said, the *Gentleman*, in whose Defence I have appeared, can have no Reason of Honour to enter by *Himself*, or his *Friends*, into these Altercations; and if my Opin
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nion can prevail, should these *Libellers* continue to scold and to call Names, They should be left to do it, without Reproof, or Notice. The Answer now given should stand as a *final Answer to all They have said, and to all They may think fit to say hereafter.*

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